Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 IAEA V 00536 01 OF 02 211815Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IOE-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10
ACDA-07 CIAE-00 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08
OES-06 FEAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 SP-02 SS-15 /114 W
----------211824Z 130840 /53
P 211623Z JAN 77
FM USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8560
INFO USERDA HQ WASHDC PRIORITY
USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 IAEA VIENNA 0536

PASS IO/SCT

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: AORG, IAEA, PARM
SUBJECT: PROPOSAL TO EXPAND IAEA BOARD MEMBERSHIP - SOME SOBERING THOUGHTS

SUMMARY: PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO ALERT DEPARTMENT TO PROPOSAL WHICH WILL BE INTRODUCED TO FEBRUARY MEETING OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS BY GROUP OF LDC'S TO EXPAND MEMBERSHIP OF BOARD AND TO SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS SUCCESS OF SUCH A PROPOSAL COULD POSE FOR THE ROLE OF THE IAEA IN THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORT. END SUMMARY.

1. LIST OF AGENDA ITEMS FOR FEBRUARY MEETING OF IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS (CIRCULATED AS GOV/1817, REPORTED IN DETAIL VIA SEPTEL) INCLUDES ITEM ENTITLED "AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE VI OF THE STATUTE" (WHICH PROVIDES FOR SELCETION OF MEBERS OF THE BOARD). INSCRIPTION OF ITEM WAS REQUESTED JOINTLY BY PAKISTAN, EGYPT, LIBYA AND NIGERIA. EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM HAS NOT YET BEEN ISSUED AND DETAILS OF WHAT WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 IAEA V 00536 01 OF 02 211815Z

SOUGHT BY CO-SPONSORS ARE NOT YET KNOWN TO MISSION. HOWEVER, REPS OF PAKISTAN AND EGYPT HAVE TOLD MISOFFS THAT THEY WISH TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS AT BG AIMED AT REVISING ARTICLE VI "T CORRECT INEQUITIES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL MAKEUP OF THE BOARD". BY THIS, ACCORDING TO THE SPONSORS, IS MEANT TO PROVIDE FOR ADDITIONAL SEATS FOR THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

REGIONS OF MIDDLE EAST AND SOURTH ASIA AND AFRICA, WHICH, UNDER ARTICLE VI AS MOST RECENTLY REVISED, HAVE LOWEST DEGREE OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ON BOARD.

2. THIS ARTICLE OF THE STATUTE HAS BEEN REVISED TWICE IN THE AGENCY'S HISTORY. IN 1963, THE MEMBER-SHIP OF THE BOARD WAS INCREASED FROM 23 TO 25 AFTER TWO YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS AND LABORIOUS INTERNAL PROCEDURES ON PART OF MEMBER STATES. THE SECOND REVISION ENTERED INTO FORCE IN 1973 FOLLOW-ING THREE YEARS OF TEDIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AND RESULTED IN AN INCREASE OF NINE ADDITIONAL BOARD SEATS. ADDRESSEES MAY RECALL THAT THIS EXERCISE WAS INITIATED BY ITALY WITH THE SOLE AIM OF PROCURING FOR ITSELF CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP ON THE BOARD. HOWEVER, ONCE NEGOTIATIONS ON REVISION HAD BEGUN OTHER AREAS INSISTED ON ADDITIONAL SEATS AS THE PRICE OF ACCOMMODATING ITALY'S AMBITIONS.

3. REGARDLESS OF WHAT IS SPECIFICALLY PROPOSED, THERFORE, IT IS UNLIKELY IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING THAT THE FINAL OUTCOME OF SUCH AN EXERCISE WOULD RESULT MERELY IN THE ADDITION OF WAHEVER MAY BE NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL SEATS BEING SOUGHT SPECIFICALLY BY THE CO-SPONSORS IN THEIR OWN PARTICULAR INTERESTS. OTHER GEOGRAPHIC AREAS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY COME FORWARD WITH BIDS OF THEIR OWN FOR GREATER REPRESENTATION. RECALL THAT IN THE PAST CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 IAEA V 00536 01 OF 02 211815Z

TWO YEARS, COMPETITION FOR DESIGNATION OR ELECTION TO THE POWERFUL BOARD OF GOVERNORS HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MORE NOTABLE POLITICAL TENDENCIES WITHIN THE AGENCY'S GOVERNING BODIES. THIS RIVALRY HAS BEEN EVIDENT IN ALL REGIONS SAVE NORTH AMERICA AND EASTERN EUROPE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IN 1975, THE NEW REGIME IN SOUTH VIETNAM LOST ELECTION TO THE BOARD BY A NARROW MARGIN, AND IN THE SAME YEAR NORTH KOREA WAS BARELY PERSUADED FROM PUTTING FORWARD ITS CANDIDACY. IRAQ, WHICH HAS CONTRIBUTED NOTHING BUT IRRELEVANT POLITICAL CONTROVERSY TO THE AGENCY'S AFFAIRS, WAS AN EAGER THOUGH UNSUCCESS-FUL CANDIDATE FOR THE BOARD LAST YEAR. THE POINT WE WISH TO MAKE IS THAT ANY REVISION OF THIS ARTICLE WOULD PROVIDE THE LDC COMPONENT OF THE AGENCY'S MEMBERSHIP (MOST NOTABLY) WITH A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO ESCAPE FROM TROUBLESOME CONTESTS AMONG THEMSELVES FOR BOARD SEATS, AND AT THE SAME TIME DESTROY THE PRESENT BALANCE OF INTERESTS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

THE BOARD NOW REPRESENTS, REPLACING IT WITH A MEMBERSHIP MORE FAITHFULLY REFLECTING THE INTERESTS OF THE "GROUP OF 77"; OF THE "HAVE NOTS" RATHER THAT THE "HAVES", OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD RATHER THAN OF THE "SUPPLIERS".

4. IN ORDER TO GAUGE THE EFFECT THIS WOULD HAVE ON THE AGENCY AND, BY EXTENSION, ON THE GREAT RELIANCE PLACE ON IT BY THE USG IN ITS NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS, IT IS WORTHWHILE TO RECALL THAT UNDER THE STATUTE THE BOARD IS NOT ONLY THE PRINCIPAL ORGAN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AGENCY'S PROGRAM AND BUDGET, AS WELL AS FOR SELECTION OF A DIRECTOR GENERAL, BUT IS THE SOLE RPT SOLE AGENCY ORGAN VESTED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONSIDERING SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENTS AND APPROVING THE APPOINTMENT OF AGENCY INSPECTORS. PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 IAEA V 00536 01 OF 02 211815Z

TASK GIVEN IT UNDER THE STATUTE, HOWEVER, IS TO SIT AS A TRIBUNAL IN CASES WHERE THE DG FEELS OBLIGED TO REPORT THAT HE IS UNABLE THROUGH NO FAULT OF HIS OWN, TO CARRY OUT THE AGENCY'S SAFEGUARDS RESPONSIBILITIES IN A PARTICULAR COUNTRY. IT IS AT THIS POINT THAT THE BOARD WOULD DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THE PARTICULAR PROBLEM INVOLVED SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE ABOVE THAT A MARKED ALTERATION IN THE CLIAMTE OF THE BOARD AS NOW CONSTITUTED -- GENERALLY RESPONSIBLE AND SOBER -- WOULD HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR INTERESTS IN THE AGENCY ITSELF.

5. THE TIME IS PAST WHEN WE COULD SAY WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THE AGENCY WAS UNIQUE AMONG INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THAT IT WAS FREE FROM EXTRANEOUS POLITICS AND CONCERNED ONLY WITH ITS TECHNICAL MANDATE. ANY ILLUSIONS ON THIS CSCORE SHOULD HAVE BEEN SHATTERED BY THE BEHAVIOR OF THE LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE IN RIO, WHICH NOT ONLY ADMITTED THE PLO AS AN OBSERVER TO ALL FUTURE SESSIONS BUT, UNDER PRESSURE FROM ELEMENTS OF THE THIRD WORLD, ACQUIESCED IN A RESOLUTION REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA WHICH ALL BUT CALLED ON THE BOARD TO VIOLATE THE STATUTE. QUITE ASIDE FROM THESE ISSUES, EVEN MORE TROUBLING HAVE BEEN COMMENTS MADE HERE AND AT RIO TO ME AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE MISSION BY THIRD WORLD REPS TO THE EFFECT THAT

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 IAEA V 00536 02 OF 02 211647Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IOE-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10
ACDA-07 CIAE-00 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08
OES-06 FEAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 SP-02 SS-15 /114 W
----------211824Z 129727 /53
P 211628Z JAN 77
FM USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8561
INFO USERDA HQ WASHDC
USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN PRIORITY

C O N F I DIE N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 IAEA VIENNA 0536
PASS IO/SCT

TIME HAS COME TO "BRING THE AGENCY INTO LINE WITH
OTHER UN ORGANIZATIONS." THE PROPOSAL FOR
STATUTE REVISION APPEARS TO US TO BE AIMED AT
ACHIEVING PRICESELY THAT.
6. THE ENORMOUS DEGREE OF SUPPORT-BOTH MATERIAL
AND MORAL-WHICH THE USG HAS PROVIDED THE AGENCY,
PARTICULARLY IN RECENT YEARS, IS WELL KNOWN AND
NEEDLESS TO SAY IS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE
HIGH DEGREE OF PROFESSIONALISM AND EXPERTISE
POSSESSED BY THE AGENCY STAFF. THE GROUP OF 77
IS ALSO AWARE OF THE STRONG U.S. COMMITMENT TO
THE AGENCY AND IT IS REASONABLE TO SUPPOSE THAT
CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THAT GROUP HAVE GAINED THE
IMPRESSION THAT THE U.S. WILL ACQUIESCE
IN ALMOST ANY MEASURE THEY ADVANCE PRECISELY
BECAUSE OF THAT COMMITMENT.
7. REVISION OF THE STATUTE (SEE ARTICLE XVIII)
IS ACCOMPLISHED ON APPROVAL BY TWO-THIRDS OF
THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND COMES INTO FORCE WHEN
TWO-THIRDS OF THE MEBER STATES HAVE DEPOSITED
INSTRUMENT OF ACCEPTANCE. ON BASIS OF PAST
EXPERIENCE, PROCESS WOULD TAKE 2-3 YEARS OF TIME CON-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 IAEA V 00536 02 OF 02 211647Z

SUMING EFFORT. WHILE IT IS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

TOO SOON TO ADDRESS SPECIFIC TACTICS WE
MIGHT ADOPT TO OPPOSE REVISION OF ARTICLE VI,
DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE THAT WE MAY WISH TO
MOUNT MAJOR EFFORT THIS YEAR IN SELECTED CAPITALS
TO PREVENT TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY FROM MATERIALIZING.

8. I DO NOT WISH TO MISLEAD DEPARTMENT BY APPEAR-
ING TO OVERSTRESS SERIOUSNESS OF WHAT COULD RESULT
FROM THIS PROPSAL, SHOULD WE BE UNABLE TO FORE-
STALL IT. HOWEVER, THE ISSUES AT STAKE ARE TOO
IMPORTANT NOT TO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY
THOSE IN USG INVOLVED IN THE SHAPING OF OUR NON-
PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES.

9. PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR IS CALLING ON ME 1/26
TO DISCUSS THE ARTICLE VI REVISION PROPOSAL AND
I WILL REPORT RESULTS OF OUR CONVERSATION. I
WOULD APPRECIATE, HOWEVER, DEPARTMENT'S INITIAL
REACTION TO THIS MESSAGE PRIOR TO THAT TIME.STONE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, POLICIES, MEMBERSHIP, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 21-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977IAEAV00536
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770023-0311
Format: TEL
From: IAEA VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770130/aaaabajr.tel
Line Count: 243
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 420d61d3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3540943
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PROPOSAL TO EXPAND IAEA BOARD MEMBERSHIP - SOME SOBERING THOUGHTS SUMMARY: PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO ALERT DEPAR
TAGS: AORG, PARM, US, IAEA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/420d61d3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009